322
352
531

Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone [463] is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
● 437 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

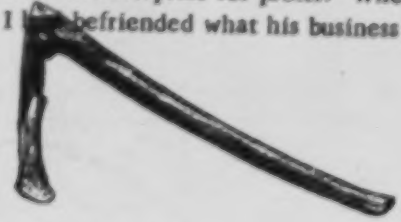

Fig. 173. Adz.

had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbɔ̃ɔ̃b) is, like their form, fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndāmabā, III); Hanskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efɔ̃ɔ̃'le Ntum, dzí III, nyɔ̃'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojén), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tɔ̃k), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebā'n), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fɔ'nege-tɔ̃k). Figure 177.

325
791
422

material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it. These pieces (epfûa-ekûâi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

[438]

1. pfû-î, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325
435
434

A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

I: Tessmann--256 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 Pl19 Fang Pl19

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot repro-
435 duce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23
434 marks ÷ 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

245 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1). 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in craft; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

245 587 934 511 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1961.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3,720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

436 3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10,000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29,600 francs, 87 had 71,500 francs, 36 had 152,000 francs, 5 had 440,000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

245 511 586